

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 254500

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S RECENT TRIP

1. FOLLOWING IS GUIDANCE WHICH SENIOR EMBASSY OFFICERS CAN USE ON A SELECTIVE BASIS WHEN THEY FIND IT NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE TO DISCUSS SECRETARY'S TRIP WITH HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS IN HOST GOVERNMENTS. THIS IS NOT AN INSTRUCTION TO BRIEF GOVERNMENTS BUT GUIDANCE FOR USE AS APPROPRIATE.

2. SECRETARY'S TRIP SHOULD BE CAST IN PERSPECTIVE OF THE BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES DEALT WITH. TRIP BEGAN IN MOSCOW WITH CONSIDERATIONS OF ISSUES OF NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION, CONTINUED IN SOUTH ASIA AND AT THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE IN ROME WHERE PROBLEMS OF FOOD AND POPULATION WERE THE MAIN ISSUES, DEALT IN IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA WITH THE RANGE OF FINANCIAL AND ENERGY MATTERS ORIGINATING IN THAT AREA, AND CONCLUDED WITH A VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST TO ASSESS
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THE PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER STEPS TOWARD PEACE.

3. IN SOUTH ASIA THE TRIP PERMITTED DIRECT TALKS WITH THE LEADERSHIP IN EACH OF THE MAJOR COUNTRIES AS TO THE OUTLOOK

FOR CONTINUED REGIONAL RECONCILIATION AND FOR OUR FUTURE BILATERAL TIES. COMING IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE WORLD

FOOD CONFERENCE, THE TRIP SERVED USEFULLY TO DEMONSTRATE CONTINUING U.S. CONCERN FOR THE SERIOUS FOOD AND DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS FACING SOUTH ASIA. THE SECRETARY REAFFIRMED STRONG AND CONTINUING U.S. SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FOR A GENUINE SOUTH ASIAN PROCESS OF REGIONAL POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION WITHOUT BIG POWER INTERVENTION WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL THE STATES OF THE AREA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REALITIES OF THEIR ALTERED RELATIONSHIPS FOLLOWING THE 1971 CRISIS.

4. IN A BROADER SENSE, WHAT THE SOUTH ASIAN TRIP SOUGHT WAS THE CONSOLIDATION OF U.S. EFFORTS TOWARD NORMALIZATION IN RELATIONS OVER RECENT YEARS. THE VISIT DEMONSTRATED THAT WHILE OUR INTERESTS IN THE AREA ARE NOW GENERALLY MORE LIMITED THAN BEFORE, WE STILL CONSIDER THEM IMPORTANT AND SEEK AND VALUE MATURE RELATIONSHIPS WITH EACH OF THE SOUTH ASIAN STATES, BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT AND RECIPROCAL ADVANTAGE. THE SECRETARY ALSO STARTED A DIALOGUE, ESPECIALLY IN INDIA, ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUES OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, OUR ARMS SUPPLY POLICY, MAJOR POWER RELATIONS WITH THE SUB-CONTINENT, AND WORLD FOOD AND ENERGY PROBLEMS.

5. IN INDIA, THE SECRETARY'S MAJOR SPEECH AND PRESS CONFERENCE EMPHASIZED PUBLICLY OUR PURPOSES AND GENERALLY REFLECTED THE TENOR OF THE PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH MRS. GANDHI AND HER PRINCIPAL MINISTERS. THERE WAS PUBLIC AND MUTUAL AFFIRMATION THAT THE CRISIS OF 1971 IS NOW DECISIVELY BEHIND US AND THAT WE BOTH SEEK A RELATIONSHIP FREE OF PAST COMPLEXES AND BASED ON A MORE MATURE AND REALISTIC RECOGNITION OF OUR RESPECTIVE INTERESTS. THE JOINT COMMISSION SET UP WITH THE INDIANS IS BASED ON THAT RECOGNITION AND WILL PROVIDE THE MECHANISM FOR DISCUSSING AND FACILITATING COMMON OBJECTIVES, IN A CONFIDENTIAL

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REALISTIC FRAMEWORK.

6. THE SECRETARY PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY ACKNOWLEDGED THE SPECIAL ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN SOUTH ASIAN AND WORLD AFFAIRS FLOWING FROM INDIA'S SIZE AND POSITION. BUT HE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS REQUIRES AN EQUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACCOMMODATION AND RESTRAINT. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE OUR CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER STATES OF THE AREA AND PARTICULARLY WITH PAKISTAN.

7. THE DIALOGUE BEGUN AT DELHI WILL BE THE BASIS FOR CONTINUING DISCUSSION OF THE TWO MOST DIFFICULT ITEMS

IN OUR FUTURE INDIAN RELATIONSHIP, THE NUCLEAR ISSUE AND

MILITARY SUPPLY POLICY. THE VISIT BROUGHT INDIAN REAFFIRMATION OF ITS POLICY NOT TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE SECRETARY PUBLICLY SIGNED OUR DESIRE TO SEE INDIA ASSOCIATED IN A MULTILATERAL, NON-DISCRIMINATORY SYSTEM OF EXPORT RESTRAINTS TO ENSURE AGAINST THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE AND ESPECIALLY WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY.

8. ON MILITARY SUPPLY POLICY, THE SECRETARY REAFFIRMED OUR DESIRE TO AVOID CONTRIBUTING TO AN ARMS RACE WHILE MAKING CLEAR OUR PRESENT ARMS SUPPLY POLICY WOULD REMAIN UNDER REVIEW AND IS NOT IMMUTABLE FOR ALL TIME. IT IS CLEARLY TOO EARLY, HOWEVER, TO CONCLUDE WHAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN GETTING THE INDIANS TO JUDGE OUR ACTIONS IN MILITARY SUPPLY IN THE BROADER PERSPECTIVE OF A MORE MATURE U.S.-INDIAN RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH WE HAVE CLEARLY RECOGNIZED THE REALITY OF INDIA'S POWER POSITION BASED ON ITS SIZE, POPULATION AND RESOURCES.

9. IN BANGLADESH, THE VISIT WAS HIGHLY EFFECTIVE IN FURTHERING OUR LIMITED INTERESTS THERE AND WAS WELL RECEIVED BY A LEADERSHIP FACING SEVERE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHALLENGES. COMING IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE FIRST MEETING OF THE BANGLADESH AID CONSORTIUM IN PARIS, THE SECRETARY'S TALKS PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE OUR SYMPATHY WITH BANGLADESH'S PROBLEMS AND OUR DESIRE TO CONTINUE TO BE HELPFUL, COUPLED WITH OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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VIEW THAT FUTURE U.S. ECONOMIC AND FOOD ASSISTANCE ASSUMES BOTH MORE EFFECTIVE BENGAL SELF-HELP EFFORTS AND EXPANDED MULTILATERAL PARTICIPATION.

10. IN BOTH DACCA AND ISLAMABAD, THE TALKS INCLUDED A REVIEW OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE IN DEALING WITH ISSUES OBSTRUCTING NORMAL PAKISTAN-BANGLADESH RELATIONS AND MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH A DIALOGUE ON THESE ISSUES CAN BE RESUMED.

11. IN ISLAMABAD, THE SECRETARY STRONGLY REAFFIRMED OUR SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE AND WAS ABLE EFFECTIVELY TO REASSURE THE PAKISTANIS THAT IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH INDIA NEED NOT AND WOULD NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR TRADITIONALLY CLOSE RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN. HOWEVER, THE TALKS AGAIN REFLECTED THE IMPORTANCE PAKISTAN ATTACHES TO A MODIFICATION OF OUR MILITARY SUPPLY POLICY, AND WE EXPECT THIS ISSUE WILL CONTINUE TO FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN BILATERAL EXCHANGES LOOKING TOWARD BHUTTO'S VISIT TO THE U.S. SOMETIME IN EARLY 1975.

12. TALKS WITH THE AFGHAN LEADERSHIP WERE DOMINATED BY AFGHAN CONCERN OVER ITS PERCEPTION OF PAKISTANI POLICIES TOWARD THE PUSHTUN AND BALUCHI TRIBAL ELEMENTS INSIDE PAKISTAN; I.E., THE PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE. THE SECRETARY PLACED STRONGLY ON THE RECORD U.S. CONCERN OVER ANY RESORT TO FORCE TO DEAL WITH THESE DIFFERENCES AND OUR SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY. BOTH ISLAMABAD AND KABUL KNOW OF OUR WILLINGNESS TO PLAY A ROLE IN BUILDING IMPROVED PAK/AFGHAN RELATIONS IF THE PARTIES FEEL THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL.

13. WITH ALL THE SOUTH ASIAN LEADERS, THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED TWO MAJOR U.S. POLICY THEMES TOWARD THAT AREA: FIRST, OUR SUPPORT FOR THE SIMLA PROCESS AND OUR ADMIRATION FOR THE GENEROSITY OF SPIRIT DEMONSTRATED BY THE LEADERSHIP IN ALL OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED IN TAKING THE DIFFICULT STEPS REQUIRED TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE BITTERNESS AND EMOTIONS OF 1971; AND SECOND, OUR BELIEF THAT SOUTH ASIA AS MUCH AS ANY AREA OF THE WORLD

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REQUIRES AND MUST CONTRIBUTE TO A GROWING PATTERN OF INTERDEPENDENCE IN DEALING WITH WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. IN THIS SAME CONTEXT, WHILE ACCEPTING NON-ALIGNMENT, THE SECRETARY HIGHLIGHTED HIS CONCERN OVER THE RISKS, PARTICULARLY FOR THE LDC'S, OF A NEW AND MORE RIGID

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